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PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS

OF

Sir John Simon, K.C.B.





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**B**OTH of my Grandfathers were Frenchmen, but each of them, having emigrated to England, was married here to an English woman. My father's father, Louis Antoine Simon, originally of Montargis, seems to have settled in London about the beginning of the last quarter of last century ; and he died here suddenly (fencing at the French Embassy) on November 10th, 1803. For a good many years before his death he resided, and carried on business as a hatter, on the west side of Vere Street, Oxford Street, at premises now absorbed in the holding of Messrs. Marshall and Snelgrove ; and previously he had resided, and I believe had carried on the like business, at a house which still stands (No. 11) on the west side of South Molton Street. In or before 1781 he had become the husband of an English wife, who died, more than 33 years after him, on January 17th, 1837 ; and my Father, born April 7th, 1782, was their only child. On the other side, my Mother, born November 10th, 1787, was the third and youngest daughter of one Nonnet (I think Louis Nonnet) of Le Blanc on the Creuse ; who was for many years settled as a fancy-jeweller in Milsom Street, Bath ; but who, after his English wife's death in 1814, returned to France, and died there at Bordeaux, September 15th, 1831. Of the two grand-parents who survived into my lifetime, I doubt whether my mother's father (M. Nonnet) was ever seen by me ; but my father's mother (Mrs. Simon) dwelt near us till her death, when

Louis  
Michael  
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I was more than twenty years old. Of her long-deceased husband from Montargis, I often heard my father speak with the respect which is due to gifts of intellect and character. From among the very few books of his which remained to us, I respectfully retain two, which, at the time when he possessed them, were certainly unusual English books for a young Frenchman of his class, if even of any class, to study, viz.: a copy (edition 1764) of David Hume's *Essays*, and a copy (edition 1793) of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Also I retain as his, dated from September 1798 to January 1799, a bound manuscript copy of Rousseau's *Contrat Social*; a copy, which at his desire, had been made by my father, then under seventeen years of age, as an exercise in handwriting. With equal respect, though concerning other lines of thought, I also preserve an old-fashioned silver gravy-spoon which was his, and which reminds me how he had the habit of welcoming as hospitably as he could to his Sunday dinner-table the needy exiled compatriots of his last fifteen years of life.

Of my own parents, happily for us their children, the lives were unusually prolonged. Dearly they had loved and been loved by us, and they had lavished on us all care and tenderness. My father, who in his early life had been a shipbroker, but who, when times of peace arrived, became a member of the Stock Exchange, and was for many years a leading member of the Committee of that body, died at the age of  $97\frac{2}{3}$ , on the 7th of December, 1879, when I was more than 63 years of age; and my mother died nearly three years later, 5th November, 1882, seventy years after her marriage to him, and within five days of completing the 95th year of her age.

On my father's retirement in March, 1868, from the Committee of the Stock Exchange (on which he had acted continuously for thirty-one years) the following resolution was passed: "That the Committee for General Purposes have received with great regret Mr. Simon's resignation, and are desirous of recording their high appreciation of the ability and untiring energy with which he has during a very long period devoted himself to the official business of the Stock Exchange. They cannot but recognise that, while their labours have been lessened by his large experience, the dignity of the Committee has been upheld, and the best

interests of the Stock Exchange have been greatly promoted by his strict impartiality and high sense of honour, and by the firm and independent manner in which he has on all occasions upheld right and discountenanced wrong."

My father had been twice married. His first wedlock, which was to M. Nonnet's eldest daughter, Marianne, was cut short by the wife's death in August, 1810, when it had lasted little more than four and a half years; and the second, which was to that lost wife's younger sister, Matilda, had continued from October 17th, 1812, till his death more than sixty-seven years afterwards. The intermediate daughter of the Nonnet family was Louisa, Mrs. Henry Hoffham, who died in 1860 at the age of about 75 years; not long after the death of a husband to whom she had been devoted, and who had for years been of infirm health. Their only son had died unmarried many years before; but they left two daughters married respectively to the Rev. George Carwithen and Mr. Henry Blakesley; and each of those marriages had given issue.

Of 14 children whom my father had had, 9 had died during his life-time; namely, 4 in infancy or early childhood, and 5 as adults; the latter including an unmarried daughter, Louisa, who died in 1844 at the age of 23; an unmarried twin-son, Frank, who died in 1847, aged 24; and three married daughters—Fanny, Annette and Mary-Kate, who were the wives respectively of Francis Macnamara Faulkner, John Carey and Charles William Chaldecott, and who died respectively in 1853, 1856 and 1865, in their 35th, 29th and 36th years of age, all of them leaving children. Of the five of us who survived our parents, two have since died; namely, in 1883, aged  $68\frac{1}{2}$ , my elder sister Ellen, the wife of Samuel Herman de Zoete; and in 1888, aged  $78\frac{1}{3}$ , my elder brother, George; both of them leaving children and grandchildren. There still remain myself, born October 10th, 1816; my brother Maximilian, born March 29th, 1823, who has children and grandchildren; and my unmarried sister, Emma, born August 6th, 1826. Of our brothers-in-law, Frank Faulkner died in 1868, John Carey in 1880, and Herman de Zoete in 1884.

My father during his first marriage had resided with his wife wholly at his place of business in London; and during the earlier years of his second marriage, he had only so far departed



from that plan as to have family-lodgings for a portion of the year at Blackheath. This had been their practice till after my birth ; and I, having been born in town, was christened (like the children of the first marriage) at the church of St. Olave, Hart Street ; but town-living shewed itself so disastrous in the loss of three out of four of the elder children, that between the last of those deaths, which happened at the end of 1817, and the birth of the next child in October, 1819, they resolved to have their home wholly at Blackheath. First, for a few years, they lived at No. 1 Park Terrace, where my recollections of life begin ; and then, in 1823, they moved to No. 10 in the Paragon, where they lived for the remainder of their life-time, and which my sister vacated only in 1883, six months after our mother's death.

The portraits which we possess of our parents and grandparents are divided among us. I have an admirable oil-portrait of my father as a schoolboy of the age of eleven or twelve, painted by J. W. Chandler a year or two after the death of Sir Joshua Reynolds (under whom Chandler had had the habit of working) and strikingly in Sir Joshua's style ; and I also possess an oil-portrait of my mother at the age of 18, painted by Miss Drummond of Bath. Excellent oil-portraits of my father's parents (I am not certain whether also by Chandler) went at my mother's death to my brother George, and are now with his widow. My sister Emma holds the other portraits ; notably a miniature of our maternal grandfather, M. Nonnet, and an early miniature of our father, as also an oil-portrait of the latter, painted by Spindler in 1835.

Our family-life had had mixed with it from the first a line of French association which it had dearly valued. Oldest and closest friends of my mother's family at Bath had been a certain French Roman Catholic family, named Denie ; containing (with other members) a daughter, Winifred, my mother's special friend, who died early, and two sons, both of them cultivated men, who became intimate friends of the married home of my parents. One of them (Thomas) died in mid-life, unmarried ; but the other had married and settled with his wife at Passy, near Paris, where in the course of time they had two children ; a son who passed into the priesthood, and a daughter, Claire, who, from 1839 till her death in 1850, was the much-loved wife of my father's

friend (afterwards intimately mine) Monsieur Charles Duveyrier, the younger son of the first Baron Mélesville. Duveyrier, as an earnest Saint-Simonian, had been a political prisoner of the early Orleanist government, and till his death, at the close of 1866, he continued sincerely, though conciliatively, of the same principles. At his house, which for many years was as a Paris home to me, I used to meet many eminent Frenchmen, both of his own political school and of others; and to him I owed acquaintance, not only with Père Enfantin and Arlès-Dufour and the Chevaliers, but also with Renan and Claude Bernard. After his death, and during the crisis of the German war, his one daughter, Marie, was married to a younger son of his valued old Saint-Simonian friend, M. Arlès-Dufour, and is now the mother of grown-up children; but his only surviving son, Henri, who had become a leading African traveller and geographer, and was beloved by all who knew him, had won his early laurels at the utter cost of health, and died by his own hand at the age of 52, on the 25th of April, 1892.

Of the earliest years of my own life, I scarcely feel myself competent to write in detail. On the 1st of October, 1833, when I began the study of Medicine, I was a few days short of seventeen years of age. Before that date, I had passed three or four years of childhood at a preparatory school at Pentonville; had then spent seven and a half years at the Rev. Dr. Burney's school at Greenwich;\* and

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\* According to the *National Biographical Dictionary*, it was in 1813 that the Rev. Dr. CHARLES PARR Burney (to whom I refer as my schoolmaster) succeeded his father, the Reverend Dr. CHARLES Burney, as proprietor and head-master of the Burney school; the father, however, living till Dec., 1817. Dr. Charles Parr Burney continued the school till 1833. He then renounced school-keeping, turned the school-premises to lucrative account for objects of local improvement, and after a while obtained for himself preferment in the Church. He died Nov. 1st, 1864, as Rector of Bishop's Wickham, Essex, and Archdeacon of Colchester, and is now represented by his eldest son Charles, Vicar of St. Mark's, Surbiton, and Archdeacon of Kingston-on-Thames; whom I remember as having been considerably my senior at the school when I joined it in the spring of 1825. My schoolmaster's predecessor, his father, the Rev. Dr. Charles Burney, besides being well known in his pædagogic character, had been famous among the Greek scholars of his time, and in that capacity had contributed a criticism of Milton's Greek verses to the second edition (1791) of Thomas Warton's issue of Milton's *Minor Poems*. He was the son, and my schoolmaster consequently was the grandson, of the eminent Doctor of Music, Charles Burney, who lived from 1726 to 1814, and who, beside deserving record in the history of his art, is remembered as having been

had finally gone for a year (from which by ill-health I unluckily lost my last two months) to the quiet home of a German Pfarrer at Hohensolms, near Wetzlar in Rhenish Prussia. Of the education, especially of the moral education, at Dr. Burney's, I hesitate to speak a dispraise which perhaps represents chiefly the fact of my individual unfitness to make the best of it ; but, even to the end of my life, I am conscious of great faults in myself which I think might have been cured or lessened by better guidance than my boyhood received. Undoubtedly, however, it was my father's intention that I should have in all important senses the best education he could obtain for me ; and probably the shortcomings which existed in the school where I received most of my education were common to all public and other large schools of the time. My ten months at Hohensolms were under charge of Pfarrer Leonard Molly and his wife, helped by his then bachelor-brother and curate, Karl, who lived close by, and afterwards became Pfarrer of Blasbach. With me were two other English boys, one of whom soon left for commercial pursuits ; but the other, Joseph Freeman, who was the nephew of the wife of my afterwards master in surgery, Mr. Green, became one of the closest friends of my early life. The stay at Hohensolms was perhaps not at the time of much apparent fruit to me ; but, in after-years, I often renewed with riper mind my knowledge of the admirable lives which in my boyhood I had little understood, and I may truly say that the knowledge has grown with my growth to be one of my most sacred recollections. Pfarrer Karl Molly's wife, whom I remember in her betrothed girlhood, and whom I have since then repeatedly seen in the noble exercise of wifely and motherly duty, is now the only survivor of the original group. Of her many children, the eldest son is an active member of my own profession in the neighbourhood of Aachen, and, as he has a daughter married here to an officer of the City of London, I have the happiness, in

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among the intimate associates of Burke and Johnson. The music-doctor's daughter, Frances, a sister of the elder and an aunt of the younger schoolmaster, had acquired early reputation as the authoress of *Evelina* and *Cecilia* ; had afterwards passed five years (of which she wrote an interesting diary) as a dresser in the service of Queen Charlotte ; and in 1793, at forty-one years of age, had become the wife of M. D'Arblay, a French emigrant officer of artillery, who at the Bourbon restoration was made General. This lady lived till 1840, and in my school-days used occasionally to visit her nephew at Greenwich.



these latter days, that I sometimes see the grand-daughter and grand-niece of my valued old friends, and can chat with her of the example we have derived from them. Of the previous days at Dr. Burney's I am still occasionally reminded by the pleasant sight of my elder but ever-vigorous school-fellow, John Birkett; who, some sixty-three years ago, when he was about to be apprenticed to the late Mr. Bransby Cooper, would let me read at school the surgical text-books which he had with him there, and who now, fifteen years after being President of our Royal College of Surgeons, still moves about with the activity of youth.

My father, before he sent me to Germany, had planned that on my return, I should commence the study of Surgery, with a view to eventual practice as a Consulting-Surgeon; and so, in the autumn of 1833, we had to follow what in those days was the usual line of training for such cases. With payment of a fee of five hundred guineas, I had to be made for six years the apprentice of a London Hospital Surgeon; and my father had decided that the very eminent person whose pupil I was to become should be the late Mr. Joseph Henry Green. Mr. Green, the nephew and past-apprentice of Mr. Cline, had at that time been for thirteen years one of the surgeons of St Thomas's Hospital, and had recently become also Professor of Surgery at King's College, then of new establishment in the Strand. Consequently I became a pupil of the two schools, attending to lectures and dissections at King's College, and to practical work in surgery at St Thomas's; and during the winter of 1837-8 I acted at the College under Dr. Todd as Prosector for his Physiological Lectures. ~~In the autumn of 1838,~~ though with a year of my hospital-apprenticeship still unexpired, I was allowed by Mr. Green to go up for my examination at the College of Surgeons, in order to be ready for an appointment, which in the event of my passing I was to have, of Joint-Demonstrator of Anatomy, with Francis Thomas (afterwards Bishop) Macdougall, at King's College; and, on my passing the examination and becoming Demonstrator, Mr. Green yet more kindly allowed me nevertheless to have under him my forfeited sixth year of dressership and hospital-pupilage. In 1840 King's College became able to develop for itself a hospital of its own; and to this new hospital I was at once made senior assistant-surgeon; the other assistant-surgeon

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being Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Bowman, who had become second to me in the Demonstratorship; and the two surgeons being Mr. (afterward Sir) William Fergusson and Mr. Richard Partridge. The Demonstratorship of Anatomy at King's College was held by me for nine years, and the assistant-surgeonship at King's College Hospital for the last seven of them, viz, till the autumn of 1847; but then I received appointment as Lecturer in Pathology, and virtually as Surgeon, at my old and more familiar home at St. Thomas's; and there, with progressive changes of title, I have remained officer till the present time.

Almost from the time when my medical studentship began I had been obliged to live chiefly away from the Blackheath home. Even in the first winter session of 1833-4, when I had not yet begun to be "dresser" at the Hospital, the mere class-attendances at King's College were hard to fulfil from the distance. On three mornings of the week when I had to be at the College at 9 o'clock for chemical lecture, and when as yet there was no coach early enough to help me, I had to start from Blackheath at 7 o'clock for my walk of eight miles; having first (as the dining-room fire was not yet alight) eaten my bread-and-milk in the kitchen, with my dear father in his dressing-gown looking after me; and on three nights in the week, when Mr. Green used to lecture from 8 to 9 o'clock, I used not to reach home till nearly eleven. Ere long my father thought this too much for me, and he arranged, for the remainder of the session, that on the nights of surgical lecture I should sleep in town. Bedroom and partial board were found for me at Mrs. Mitchell's, No. 26 Arundel Street: where likewise was boarding Parker Margetson, an elder student of high promise who came from the Lake-country, and who has long been successful in London life; and where also almost immediately Young Mitchell, the son of my kind old landlady, returning from his art-studies in Paris, began a friendship with me which continued till his death in 1865. For the summer of 1834 I was able to dispense with London quarters; but in October 1834 my "dressing" at the Hospital began, and would often require me to remain within reach; and thenceforth for five years, I became an habitual lodger in town. Through the year 1836-7, and again through the summer of 1839, I lodged in

St. Thomas's Street East ; in the former year, dividing the house with my chums Joseph Freeman and Francis Thomas Macdougall ; and at other times I lodged near King's College—chiefly in Arundel Street, and Howard Street, and in the winter of 1838-9 in Bedford Street. Very early in this career, my course had run some risk of premature termination ; for on a memorable evening in April, 1835, I had been indulging with a friend in a visit to the House of Commons, to hear Sir Robert Peel declare the end of his then administration, and had returned with ~~him~~ by wherry from Whitehall to Arundel Street, when, next morning, I was found in bed with the beginning of severe erysipelas of the face and head : due no doubt to infection from the cupboard in which my food and my anatomical pursuits had equal privilege. I remained for awhile in contest for my life ; but my father and mother came at once to nurse me, and my fellow-apprentice, William Trew, stayed devotedly to help them, and Mr. Green and Dr. Roots directed treatment, and so in time I was carried through. In the autumn of 1839, my "dressing" at St. Thomas's having come to an end, I began to be a housekeeper in London, and, for the fourteen years, 1839-53, was resident in the then quiet of Wellington Street, leading to Waterloo Bridge, which in those days was not passed except with payment of toll. For the first seven years I lived on the east side of the street in a little house (No. 11) now pulled down, which had its back looking into the silence of Somerset House, and which, with downstairs premises as deep as those upstairs were high, was singularly convenient for physiological purposes ; and for the second seven I lived on the west side, at No. 3 Lancaster Place, which in those days had, both in front and at back, extraordinarily beautiful and extensive views of the river.

my friend

Entering in October, 1847, on my post at St. Thomas's Hospital, I did so at first essentially as a supernumerary officer, and with reference to circumstances of Science. Nine years before, when I had become Demonstrator of Anatomy at King's College, my position seemed to me at first one rather of mere waiting than of struggle, one offering an infinity of spare time which could be given to non-professional pursuits. For a while my supposed waiting-time was given to all sorts of irrelevant studies—to metaphysical reading, to oriental languages, to the print-room of the British Museum,



and so forth; but by degrees this error corrected itself. Greatly influenced by William Bowman's splendid example, I came to see that, in our career, initiative work was as necessary as waiting; and, for the last half of the time, I had exerted myself accordingly. In 1842, I had begun by writing on *Medical Education* in a letter to the President of the Royal College of Surgeons, and about the same time had contributed the article *Neck* to the *Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology*; in the spring of 1844 had gained the first Astley-Cooper prize by a *Physiological Essay on the Thymus Gland* (which was published with additions in the following year) and had written for the Royal Society a paper on the *Comparative Anatomy of the Thyroid Gland*; in January, 1845, had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and in the spring of 1847 had furnished to the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society a paper on *Sub-Acute Inflammation of the Kidney*. I do not now pretend to criticise the matter of any of those youthful papers, and would only in passing apologise for what they no doubt contained of error. As regards the style, too, I well remember that my old schoolmaster, Dr. Burney, found much fault with my pamphlet of 1842; and not only do I know that he was just in objecting to it, but also I know that I began with faults of style of which I could only gradually (if ever) get rid. Apart, however, from any deeper question, I think I may claim that, by 1847, I was learning to feel an interest in science; and the post which ~~had~~ <sup>was</sup> conferred on me at St. Thomas's Hospital ~~was~~ <sup>became</sup> in that respect a keen stimulus to industry. My first lecture at the hospital, in December, 1847, on the *Aims and Philosophic Method of Pathological Research*, expresses some of the thoughts with which I entered on my new duty. Other indications will be found in a little set of lectures, which I published in 1850, on *General Pathology as conducive to Rational Principles for the Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease*, and in some of my *Clinical Lectures*, published in 1850-2, in the *Lancet* and *Medical Times*. \*

The holidays which I had during my years of studentship and early practice were generally taken by me with the rest of the family; but to that there came some exceptions or additions. Passing January 1837, when my father had taken me with him for a trip to Paris, whence we were called back by the death of his mother, my first separate excursion was in the early summer of 1838. Then, with



my friend Joseph Freeman, I had a run into North Wales, closing with Commemoration-Day at Oxford; and in the autumn of 1839 I had a few days' stay by myself on the Wye and at Llanthony. In 1840 (*à propos* of the meeting of the British Association in Glasgow) I succeeded in seeing many Scotch centres of interest—Edinburgh, Abbotsford, Stirling, Loch Lomond, Dunkeld, Blair-Athol, and Inverness, with the Caledonian Canal and the Argyllshire coast; and in making my way to Scotland I was able to loiter a little in the English lake-country. There, with an introduction from Mr. Green, I enjoyed the signal honour of a morning with William Wordsworth in his garden, and of hearing him twice read to me from his manuscript (once was indoors beneath the engraving) the sonnet he had just written on Haydon's picture of the Duke of Wellington revisiting Waterloo. In 1841 I had a tour of two or three months in North and South Germany, where I visited many chief places of interest, and not only saw leading professors in medicine and surgery, but also came into contact with others who were then classical: at Berlin with Ludwig Tieck, and his brother the sculptor, and with their sculptor friend Rauch, and with Waagen, the keeper of the art-collection; also at Dresden with Retzsch, the outline-illustrator of *Faust* and the *Song of the Bell*; and at Munich with the eminent metaphysician, F. W. J. Schelling, who was then about to migrate to Berlin. In the spring of 1843, I took a run into Holland, where we had some old family-friends at Rotterdam, and where I was anxious not only to see the works of pictorial art at the Hague and elsewhere, and to hear the Haarlem organ, but also to make acquaintance with Professors Vrolik at Amsterdam and Schröder v. d. Kolk at Utrecht; and some weeks in the autumn of the same year I spent at Ventnor, in poor health, screwing up my mind to give the next three months to a competition for the Astley-Cooper Prize. In 1845, helped by the kindness of my old home-friend Samuel Thorrowgood, with whom most of the travel was made, I had a summer excursion to Paris, Avignon, Nîmes, Arles and Marseilles; whence to Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Milan; and home by Switzerland and the Rhine. At Paris and Heidelberg I had had the honour of speaking with Flourens and Tiedemann and Henle. In 1846, I again took holiday to Marseilles; but then westward, to Barcelona, Valencia,

Malaga, Granada and back, Cadiz, Seville, Cordova, Aranjuez, Toledo and Madrid. In 1847, I had at Teignmouth some weeks with books and thought, preparing for my coming duties at St. Thomas's, and then, with my friend Dixon, a fortnight (chiefly bent on dead-house operations) at Paris.

My movement to St. Thomas's, in the autumn of 1847, was followed in 1848 by an event of supreme importance to the hopes of my life, and which had long been waiting for fortune to permit. The time had at length arrived, when, with my father's help, I could venture on the happiness of marriage. Early in 1836 I had begun to know Jane O'Meara, and, with immature boyish mind, to think of her as of no one else in the world ; but towards the end of 1837 there had been a break of nearly five years in our possibilities of meeting ; and it was not till the close of 1842, when we again met, that our lives could promise each other to become one. Through dreary following years we had yet to wait for means. My official posts at King's College were virtually unpaid, clearing only £25 a year ;\* and in those days, in the consultative ranks of the medical profession, pecuniary earnings were extremely slow to begin. But from the autumn of 1847, not only were hopes of more rapid progress opening to me through the appointment of which I have just spoken, but also the appointment itself was to give me a salary of £200 a year ; and, as we could further count on cordial help from my father, so far as might be needful, our marriage, which we now thought warrantable, took place on July 22nd, 1848. Long deferred though it had been, it ~~was~~ in it, ~~even then~~, far less of worldly prudence than of mutual affection ; but scarcely were we back from our Devonshire honeymoon when an event occurred in the creation of the City of London Officership of Health, and in my appointment thereto, which added £500 (eventually made £800) a year to my income, and conduced importantly to shape my subsequent career.

My wife has now become the sole remaining representative of long-deceased parents. Her father, Matthew Delaval O'Meara, who had served with distinction as Commissary-General in the

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\* It was, I think, only in the last year that an additional £20 was given ; but this amount I considered due to the Assistant-Demonstrator who was at that time appointed, and I accordingly paid it over to him.

Peninsular War, died in 1850; and her mother (a daughter of the Rev. John Beamish, rector of Ross-Carbery and Castletown-Berehaven in the county of Cork) followed him in 1866. In 1854 had died, unmarried, their only son, John, in the 48th year of his age; and in 1891, at the age of  $83\frac{1}{2}$ , died, also unmarried, their elder daughter, Mary Elizabeth, my wife's one sister. My wife and I, both of us born in the autumn of 1816, and consequently now far on in our eighth decennium, cannot count on any distant future of life. We have had no child born to us, but have adopted into that relation, from the date of her mother's death in December, 1853, when she herself was less than two years old, my wife's god-child, Jane, the youngest child of my sister Fanny; and surely she, while we continue to live, will have from us, as she has hitherto had, the warmest affection of our hearts, and every loving wish and endeavour with which we can aid her.

As a grand-daughter of the Rev. John Beamish, my wife had two male first-cousins: John O'Meara Beamish, the son of her mother's brother William; and John Thomas Barter, the son of her mother's married sister, Jane. Both of them were intimately known to us, and both have died within the last three years, leaving issue. The elder cousin, John O'Meara Beamish, who was for many years Professor of English in the Rouen College of the University of France, and had been made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, died at the age of 78, on the 9th February, 1893; leaving in the service of the Church of England an only surviving son, who, when a schoolboy in 1870, had done such volunteer work in the military defence of Paris as gained him the very high distinction of the Gold Medal of the Order of Merit. My wife's other first cousin, John Thomas Barter, had from early life been left a widower, and had for many years chiefly resided at Nice: where he died at the age of 69, on the 11th December, 1891, leaving three sons whom he had most carefully educated, and of whom he was justly proud: the eldest of whom (married) has just been appointed the rector of Hanwell, Middlesex, and the two youngest are majors in the British Army.

In 1848, when our married life began, there were of course on each side various old friendships which claimed recognition in it. Hardly second in my wife's heart to any former friendships of her



own became those which had been specially mine during my long years of bachelorhood ; not only the domestic and other ties which I have named as of earliest origin in my life, but likewise those which had added themselves to the list during my subsequent years of early manhood. Some whom she had known in the earliest times had already passed or were passing away. Already dead in Burmah was my old Hohensolms companion, afterwards my fellow-student at King's College and St. Thomas's Hospital, and always my close home-friend, Joseph Freeman ; and in little more than a year was to die my even closer friend, Benjamin Bovill ; Samuel Thorrowgood also died within two years ; and Francis Thomas Macdougall had, I think, already become Bishop of Sarawak ; but others were yet to remain long from the old time ; notably Young Mitchell, director of the Art School at Sheffield, and Alfred Elmore, afterwards the Royal Academician, who both had been my friends from 1833 ; and James William Davison, the musician, who had been so from 1836 ; and John Hawkins, my far-senior fellow-student at the Hospital in 1833, who alone of those earliest friends is yet living, and who happily even now, when nearly 83 years old, still abounds in vigour as in kindness. There had remained with me also the almost filial tie to Mr. and Mrs. Green, my master and his wife, who meanwhile had become resident at Hadley ; and another which in type somewhat resembled it, binding me to my kind old friends, Dr. John Edward Gray and his wife, at the British Museum ; and a third, which also was of unequal ages, to the eminent solicitor, Mr. Meadows White and his wife, whose children (among whom is the present Judge Meadows White) have been among our life-long friends. Connections formed in the interval were to be added ; but, alas, only few of them have lasted till now. Still surviving are James Dixon, who like myself had been an apprentice at St. Thomas's, and is now more than 80 years old ; and Henry Julian Hunter, my King's College pupil of more than 50 years ago, and Thomas William Nunn, who succeeded me at King's College ; but others whom I made known to my wife on our marriage in 1848, and who became main elements in our life of the time, have long since passed away. Foremost among them were William Hart Morley who was by calling an Indian barrister, and by taste and capacity



emphatically an artist and a scholar, and always of companions the readiest and the steadiest, whether for wisdom or its interludes ; and with him another barrister, his close friend, the quick-brained fragile Henry Keyser : of whom the first-named died in 1860, but the last as early as 1852. Of that bright circle, almost the last survivor was Sir George Bowyer, who died in 1883, and had spent an evening with us not long before his death. Of another group, there were Frederic Oldfield Ward, who had been fellow-student with me at King's College, and George Henry Lewes, who (with his elder brother) had been my school-fellow at Dr. Burney's ; two, who in different ways were showing themselves among the foremost writers of the time—Ward in the journalism of science, especially of sanitary science, and Lewes as fictionist and philosopher ; both of them in those early days the brightest of companions, but both of them doomed to comparatively early death ; Ward, after long enfeeblement in 1877, and Lewes more abruptly in the following year. Not least among the friends of 1848 there was Joseph Burnley Hume, the eldest son of the then well-known Member of Parliament ; himself a man of almost universal accomplishment, with moral earnestness to match ; who, having married from our house soon after our own marriage, and having in little more than three years lost his wife by death, became of all friends the closest to us, till he finally broke down in health at the end of 1863, though still to linger in life for seven more years.

To the early associates of 1848, my wife and I, from time to time, made additions. Almost immediately, through Charles Duveyrier and Ward, I had entered on acquaintance with Mowbray Morris, the then manager of the *Times*, who, I remember, was in the visitors' gallery at Guildhall when I was elected Officer of Health of the City ; and, from accidental causes, this relation, which at first seemed slight, rapidly developed to a warm and increasing domestic friendship, which included his wife while she lived, and ceased only with his own sad death in 1874. Also, almost immediately, I came into relation on public matters with Edwin Chadwick, and we soon had friendly social relations with him and his wife, for both of whom we entertained high esteem, and those relations were still continuing at the time of his death in 1890. Within a year from the time of my appointment, my old

King's College pupil, Henry Stevens, becoming associated with me in temporary work against cholera, began an intimacy with us which has continued till now. Also within that year thoughts of antagonism which had been conceived against me by the poor-law medical officers of the City of London had changed into thoughts of genuine friendship; and, for the remaining six years of office, we habitually interchanged with those former foes the hospitalities of domestic life. In the summer of 1850, a matter of public interest having brought me into relation with William Napier (the brother of Lord Napier of Ettrick) we soon became personal friends; and in 1853, when he married, his wife and the gifted family of Horatio Lloyd, from which he derived her, also entered on friendship with us; and now, when he is long dead, and most others of the old story are likewise so, we still wish happiness to our friend, his widow, and welfare to those for whom she cares. About 1850, through my father, we entered on an acquaintance, which soon became cordial, with a Frenchman of the Laffitte family, Prosper Ferrere, who, at that time, was staying as a bachelor in England, but who, after three years, went back with an English wife to Paris, where, during many years, we used to visit them and their children in familiar friendship; but, from the war-time of 1870, they fell into increasing misfortune, losing in 1876 and 1882 two of their three grown-up sons, and were at last driven by circumstances to seek refuge in England, where they died, the wife in December, 1892, and the husband in July, 1893; leaving as their representative an only son, Frank, who is an admirably-reputed captain in the French army. And I may note that, in the early years of their married life, Mrs. Ferrere's younger sister, Rosa, had become the wife of my friend, Charles Lamb Kenney, the gifted son of a gifted father, but who had to contend against unusual difficulties of temperament and health, and had died twelve years before his brother-in-law. In 1852, while taking our summer holiday at Dorking, we came into friendship with the artist family of Octavius Oakley, including Paul Naftel, who next year married Oakley's youngest daughter; and through the Oakleys we began to know Thomas Woolner, who was then soon away to Australia, but who, on his return, rapidly rose to become a Royal Academician, and who, till his death

in 1892, was the head of a most happy and attractive home. Also (to the best of my recollection) it was in 1852 that I made acquaintance with Tom Taylor, at first superficially through Ward ; but the relation soon became deeper and stronger when we began to co-operate under the General Board of Health ; and it rapidly grew into life-long friendship for my wife and myself, first with him as a bachelor, and then including his wife and children, and her gifted sisters, who since 1880 have survived him. In 1853, we had come into habitual and friendliest intercourse with Arthur Helps, who, later, till his death in 1875, was also my colleague at the Privy Council Office ; and our nearly first intimacy with whom included his friend and publisher, John Parker, junior. The latter lived, alas, only till 1860, but till then was among our close associates—one of the most upright and most kind-hearted of men ; and through him we had friendship with Charles Kingsley, and more or less acquaintance with various other leading authors of the time. I remember his having given me a delightful evening with Henry Thomas Buckle. At the end of 1853, Edward Headlam Greenhow, a highly esteemed physician of Tynemouth, settling in London, where he became a close coadjutor of mine in public duty, became also an intimate home-associate and friend, and continued so till his death thirty-five years later. At the beginning of 1854, Helps was endeavouring to bring into some sort of concert various persons whose joint action might, he thought, be useful to the public in respect of the then impending danger of cholera, and I was indebted to that circumstance for a first acquaintance with the eminent chamber-counsel, John Bullar, who was then popularly known in connection with the Model Establishment of Baths and Wash-Houses ; whom I soon found to be one of the best men with whom I had ever had to do ; and who, till his death in 1867, continued to be, with his family, among the most intimate friends of our house. Also, on the same occasion, in 1854, I made acquaintance with John Ruskin ; and, from two years later, when my wife and I met him for the first time at Chamonix, we entered upon intimacy with him and his parents, and there began between him and us a closeness of affectionate association which has ever since continued to add very greatly to our happiness. Early in our knowledge of him, he made us acquainted with



John William Inchbold, a young artist, in whom he, at the time, was very much interested, and our acquaintance with whom ripened to a warm friendship which ended only with his death in 1888. Likewise, out of our intimacy with Ruskin, in its comparatively early years, began our friendship with Edward Burne-Jones and his wife ; one which soon widened to include their children as if they had been of our own stock ; and in which of late years a separate compartment has been assigned to their daughter Margaret and her husband, John Mackail, and their little ones. Although I am here scarcely at all referring to the incidents of professional life, I may exceptionally note that among the youngsters who joined the medical profession in the mid-fifties, and whom my wife and I began to know and appreciate in those early days, were two to whom in later times we have been infinitely indebted, not only for skill, but for the affectionate kindness which has made their skill doubly healing : William Miller Ord, who, for two or three years before he entered on practice in 1855, was familiar in our house as one of the brightest and most trustworthy students of the time at St. Thomas's ; and Robert Leamon Bowles, now recently settled in London, but who, from 1856, had been the friend and companion, and in case of need the entirely trusted doctor, of our Folkestone holidays. Also I may note that we always remember with special interest the year 1859 as that which gave us our first intimacy with Edmund Montgomery : who then, under peculiar circumstances, rapidly became and for several years continued to be as one of our family, and who, with rare gifts and accomplishments, was during those years my daily associate in philosophical and scientific work ; but who, later, left London for medical practice in Madeira and Cannes, with a view to marriage with the eminent German sculptress, Elizabeth Ney : after which marriage, and after residence for awhile in Munich, where we had the pleasure of visiting them in the autumn of 1870, they decided on emigrating to rustic life in Texas ; from amid the hardships and contentions of which, and from amid their family cares, they nevertheless have continued to show, during nearly a quarter of a century, that they still cherish their old respective loyalties to the claims of art and science.

During the early years of my married life, our holidays were chiefly spent with my parents at Folkestone or Brighton ; except



that in 1851 I went for a month with T. W. Nunn (without my wife) to South Germany and North Italy. In 1853, with advancing prospects of professional practice, I changed my residence from Lancaster Place to the west end of London ; to the house which, forming the south-eastern corner of the intersection of Park Street and Upper Grosvenor Street, was in those days numbered 37A of the latter ; and thence in 1854 (after the cholera-alarm of that season) I took a fortnight's bachelor-walk with my brother-in-law, Herman de Zoete, in Cornwall. In the summer of 1855, my wife and I were spending our holiday at Lynton in North Devon, when circumstances which changed our life arose.

Then, namely, I underwent the momentous change which consisted in my entering the service of the Government as their medical adviser ; and from that date, for more than twenty years, I had little mind to spare for thoughts not connected with public duty. Fortunately, however, both for this duty in its larger sense, and also for the recreation of my own mind, I had stipulated that, though renouncing private practice, I should be at liberty to retain my hospital-appointment ; so that, from 1855 to 1876, I was a hospital-surgeon advising the Government ; but, of course, during those twenty years I could not spare much strength for unofficial appearances in print. The leisure hours of one vacation-time I spent on a *Biographical Memoir* of my late master, Mr. Green, in introduction to his *Spiritual Philosophy* published in 1865 ; but, with that exception, my only unofficial appearances in print during the twenty years were two of almost official intention : viz., in 1860 and 1869, the article *Inflammation* in *Holmes's System of Surgery*, wherein I endeavoured to express the pathological basis on which my practical advice was given ; and in 1868 a *Presidential Address*, and subsequent *Report to the Medical Teachers' Association*, on improvements which were wanted in the teaching of medicine. Accordingly, with very trifling exceptions, I may say that my life for twenty years was a life of Office and Hospital ; and, also, for the seven years which next preceded the twenty, Office and Hospital were a main part of the life. My official sanitary works during my many years of public service in that department of medicine are of course still to be found in their full original form ; but I may note that in the summer of 1887, an

abbreviated edition of them, without their appendices, was issued by the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain, under the judicious care of Dr. Edward Seaton, now the Medical Officer of the County of Surrey, son of the Dr. Seaton who had for many years been my intimate colleague at the Privy Council Office, and had on my retirement succeeded me at the Local Government Board. Of the collegueships and friendships which arose for me in connection with the public service, I gave account in 1890 in the Chapters which form Part IV of my *English Sanitary Institutions*; and to them, with one exception, I shall not here refer; but I may distinguish the year 1859 as having become notable in my life through the fact that Robert Lowe (afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke) then became my official chief at the Privy Council Office; and that thenceforth, through the personal intimacy which happily grew for me out of that relation, I was privileged, for the third part of a century, to profit by constant familiarity with his keen intellect and noble character. Of our residence under the changed circumstances of my life I may note that within a year from the time of my appointment we moved from Upper Grosvenor Street to less costly premises at No. 44, Great Cumberland Street; that thence, in 1864, wishing if possible to live out of town, we moved to No. 5, Aberdeen Terrace, Blackheath; but that the suburban residence proved distasteful to my wife; and that, in 1867, we returned to London, where we settled in our present and presumably final home, at No. 40, Kensington Square.

Through the years to which I have last referred, and indeed I may say through the whole time from 1847 onward, my connection with St. Thomas's Hospital, while it had given me scientific occupation of the utmost interest, and had therein been my school for all chief means of usefulness to the public, had not generally been of a polemical character. But the years 1862-1863 were exceptional, as being the years in which the Hospital was dispossessed of its ancient site in the Borough, and in which the question of its new site had to be settled. Very powerful influence was used to determine that the new site of the hospital should be in the country; and I believe I do not claim for myself too much when I say that I had a chief part both in leading the public to appreciate the issues which were raised, and

in promoting the course which was followed by the Governors when they decided on the present (Albert Embankment) site. The three papers which were successively put forth from the school—the first, in the spring of 1862, signed by the physicians, surgeons and lecturers,—the second, November 11th, 1862, signed by the physicians and surgeons,—and the third, November 19th, 1863, signed by the chairman of the staff-meeting, were all written by me; as also were many letters of argument written to the *Times* on the points which were at issue; and I believe I may say that, from the onset of the discussion, Mr. Delane, the editor of the *Times*, had been thoroughly satisfied by me of the merits of the case. Also in the holiday-time of September, 1862, I was in constant friendly intercourse at Mentone (where we were almost sole inhabitants) with my valued old chief, Mr. William Cowper, afterwards Lord Mount-Temple, who, at the time, was President of H.M. Board of Works, and, as such, was the representative of H.M. Government in relation to such matters as the present; and I believe I may say that I succeeded in warmly interesting him, both in the general question of a site for the hospital, and in the particular question whether the Albert Embankment site could not be made ours. On a subsequent occasion, when the gain of that site was celebrated, but when I was not in person present, Mr. Cowper, I was told, expressed himself strongly as to the uses I had rendered; and from October, 1871, I have had the happiness of acting officially at the new site, first, to December, 1876, as ordinary surgeon, and since 1876 as consulting surgeon and governor of the hospital.

It was with extreme pain that, in 1876, I found I could no longer hope to be of official use in the public service. The system, which Mr. Stansfeld had established for sanitary government under the Acts of 1871–1872, seemed to me (as I subsequently explained to the public in print) not to consist with the constitution and proper working of my office as intended by the Act of 1858, and not to be for the public advantage;\* and so, after giving it full trial, I asked and obtained leave to retire from the service. The decoration of C.B. was given me on my retirement, and was in 1887 augmented to K.C.B.; and in 1876 I was also made, and have continued till

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\* See Chapter XIV and XV of my *English Sanitary Institutions*; London, Cassell, 1890.



now, a Crown member of the General Medical Council. At my earnest deprecation (see my letter to Mr. Haviland in the *Lancet* of September 16th, 1876) an intention which had been taking shape to give me a costly testimonial, referring to my tenure of office, was abandoned ; but some of my kind friends did me the honour of presenting to the Royal College of Surgeons a bust of me by Mr. Woolner, which they meant to be monumental. Most of the work which I have done since I left the general public service has been in the speciality of the Medical Council, where I trust my endeavours may not have been in vain ; but I also have done some other work. Towards the close of 1877, at the Birmingham Annual Meeting of the Midland Medical Society, I gave an address (published in the *British Medical Journal* of November 9th) on *Some Points of Science and Practice concerning Cancer* ; early in 1878 I wrote for the *Dictionary of Medicine* (edited by my old friend Sir Richard Quain) an article on *Contagion*,\* and, later in 1878, at the distribution of prizes in the Faculty of Medicine at University College, London, I gave an *Occasional Address* which was published in the *Calendar* of the College ; in 1881, as President of the State Medicine Section of the International Medical Congress, I gave an address on *Experiments on Life, as fundamental to the Science of Preventive Medicine, and as of question between Man and Brute* ;\* early in 1890 I published my historical and critical volume on *English Sanitary Institutions, reviewed in their Course of Development, and in some of their Political and Social Relations* ; and in the *British Medical Journal* of November 1st of the same year (with a view to initiate an important constitutional amendment which was carried in the succeeding summer) I wrote on the subject of *Charitable Bequests forbidden by Law* ; in 1892, I submitted to the legal advisers of the Medical Council a Memorandum on the *Claim asserted by the Royal College of Physicians, that the College of itself, apart from any other examining authority, can grant such letters-testimonial or licenses in medicine, surgery and midwifery, as shall be valid diplomas of qualification in all those branches under sections 2 and 3 of the Medical Act, 1886* ; in 1893 I contributed to Mr. Patchett-Martin's *Life of Lord Sher-*

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\* The article on *Contagion* and the address on *Experiments on Life* were included by Dr. Seaton in his 1887 republication of my Sanitary Reports.



brooke an *In Memoriam* paper on the character and career of that statesman ; and finally, in this ~~present~~<sup>e</sup> spring of 1894, I ~~have~~<sup>87</sup> contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* (by way of supplement to my volume of 1890) an article on *Early Self-Government in Social Relations*.

On the occupation of the long interval between the years 1881 and 1890 I may observe that not only were my thoughts much engaged during the earlier time by Medical Council duties, and afterwards by the continuous labour of preparing for my publication of 1890, but also that for some of the years I was partly engaged with an extremely interesting duty in connection with the Grocers Company. In the summer of 1882, my old friend Mr. John Abernethy Kingdon, F.R.C.S., who afterwards became Master of the Company, had entered upon communication with me on the question of steps which the Company might take for the promotion of sanitary science ; and I, while of course most glad to be of use for any such object, and gladly placing my own opinion at my friend's disposal, had thought that, if the matter was to be followed, combined advice would be desirable, and had suggested that Prof. John Tyndall, Prof. Burdon Sanderson and Dr. (now Sir George) Buchanan, would be colleagues with whom I should be proud to consult on any such question. This course being adopted by the Company, we four were made a body of Assessors, to advise the Court, first, on the method which we thought might be generally desirable in the matter, and then on the particular procedures which would result ; and the arrangement we recommended was the foundation of three regulated Scholarships, each of £250 a year, open to subjects of the United Kingdom, and of a quadrennial Discovery-Prize of £1,000 which should be open to world-wide competition.\* On the details of what was done I need not enter ; but I may permit myself to say that no duty in my course of life has ever been pleasanter to

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\* The *Discovery-Problem* proposed in 1883, and which, as no satisfactory answer was forthcoming in 1887, was then renewed, was the following:—"To discover a method by which the Vaccine Contagium may be cultivated apart from the animal body, in some medium or media not otherwise zymotic:—the method to be such that the Contagium may by means of it be multiplied to an indefinite extent in successive generations, and that the product after any number of such generations shall (so far as can within the time be tested) prove itself of identical potency with standard Vaccine Lymph."

me than that which arose, and for some years continued to me, in this connection; both with regard to the scientific aspects of the case, and with regard to the personal relations between us who worked the arrangement. In accordance with our original plan, I resigned my office in 1887 after four years' tenure of it; and on the next vacancy (in 1889) I was invited by the Court to resume; but with advanced years and damaged eyesight, I felt that I ought not to avail myself of the kindness which that proposal intended for me.

During my years of public service, I have been favoured with many marks of confidence from those who were entitled to bestow them. From the Membership of the Royal College of Surgeons, which I had obtained on examination in 1838, I became in 1844 an Hon. Fellow of the College, and from 1868 to 1880 was one of the College Council; filling there for two years, 1876-1878, the office of Vice-President of the College, and during the year 1878-1879 the office of President. At the beginning of 1845 I was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1879-1880 was one of its Vice-Presidents. During some years following 1867, I served as Vice-President of the Medico-Chirurgical and Clinical Societies, and as President of the Medical Teachers' Association, and of the Pathological Society. Later I received the distinction of being elected Hon. Member of the Pathological Society and Hon. Member of the Clinical Society. In 1868 I was made an Hon. D.C.L. of the University of Oxford; ~~in~~<sup>in</sup> 1872 an Hon. Med. Chir. Doctor of the University of Munich; in 1880 an Hon. LL.D. of the University of Cambridge; in 1882 an Hon. LL.D. of the University of Edinburgh; and in 1887 an Hon. M.D. of the University of Dublin. In 1853-1854 I was a member of the Royal Commission of inquiry into the Causes of Cholera in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Gateshead and Tynemouth; in 1854-5 was a member of Sir Benjamin Hall's Medical Council; and in 1881 was a member of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the constitution of the Medical Profession.

The holidays which we took during my years of public service, and during the years next following them, are perhaps entitled to be mentioned here, for they were of concern to the work of my life. For the most part they were holidays abroad. There were two

occasions when my wife and I remained together in England, viz. in 1868, when she was not in health for foreign travel, and in 1880, when our house, being under repair, required us to remain where we could look after it; there were also two occasions, respectively in 1864 and 1876, when, for particular reasons, I had to travel alone, going without my wife in the former year to Cannes, and in the latter year to Chamonix and North Italy; and there were three occasions, 1865, 1875 and 1877, on which, though we went abroad, we did not stay more than a fortnight on the continent. But, mainly, our holidays were continental. Of all the foreign places to which we went, Chamonix, both in itself, and by reason of personal associations, was by far the dearest to us. John Ruskin was in our minds identified with it. And till 1877, when death (not untimely) had its way, we joined on to the local thought of Ruskin the thought of his and our true old friend, Joseph Marie Couttet; who, in my mountaineering times, was, when we could manage it, my unfailing companion; the son and former assistant of De Saussure's guide, and himself long afterwards the masterly guide of De Saussure's successors. We should have continued, as we began, endeavouring to be yearly visitors at Chamonix, but for the eager commercial competition which at last (in 1867) ruined our old friends the Eisenkrämers, the owners of the Union Hotel; and it was an immense pleasure to us when, after an interval, we found that a Chamonix home of the old sort had survived in the keeping of M. Cachat of the Hôtel Mont-Blanc. Chamonix and its neighbourhood, or, when we could not go to Chamonix, at least the Vevey-Montreux bits of the lake of Geneva, or other near approximations, were almost essential to our thoughts of holiday; and coming and going through other regions, excellent though each might be in its way, we never were without the memory of that influence. Sometimes we reached or left it almost at a rush; but usually we spent a while, often more or less digressively, in the approach or departure through other countries; and thus our successive journeys acquainted us with much beside the scenery of Mont Blanc. In almost familiar passage, one year or another, we saw Rouen, Abbeville, Amiens, Compiègne, Beauvais, Senlis, St. Denis, Laon, Rheims, Troyes, Belfort, Chalons, Marne, Bar-le-Duc, Nancy, old Metz and old Strasburg,



Fontainebleau, Sens, Dijon, Dôle, Pontarlier, Bourg, Annecy, Aix, Chambéry, Grenoble and Lyon; sometimes adding Clermont or Nevers, and perhaps Autun, or Le Puy, or Montargis, or Orleans, or Bourges, or the Grande Chartreuse. The extreme south of France from Marseilles to Mentone we had visited (during illness of mine) in 1862, and I revisited it, as far as Cannes, in 1864; but the western side of France had not been seen by us till 1881, when, desirous of seeing friends who were in trouble in the Pyrenees, we made a round from Paris by Tours, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Pau, Eaux-Bonnes, Argelès, Bigorre, Luchon, Toulouse, Périgueux, Limoges, Bourges, Chartres, St. Evreux, Vernon and Rouen, to Boulogne. Germany we visited in 1862; going first by Dresden to Breslau (where I required surgical help for nearly three weeks) and thence returning by Vienna, Salzburg, Augsburg and Ulm; and we again passed through Vienna in 1863 making way with our friend T. W. Hinchliff to Trieste; whence, after excursing to Corfu, Constantinople, Athens, Naples and Rome, we returned to Marseilles. In 1867, I went alone (on office-duty) to Weimar, and was able at the opportunity to see much of local interest. In the holiday-time of 1870, in order that I might help my friend, Dr. Thudichum, in starting at the Rochusberg an international hospital for the sick and wounded of the war, we spent with him some weeks at Bingen on the Rhine; after which we passed a few days at Munich, seeing our friends the Montgomerys and v. Pettenkofers, and receiving from the former the additional pleasure of a day with v. Liebig, and then returned by Ratisbon and Nuremburg to Bingen and home. Likewise in 1871, when we were again kept to Belgium and Germany, I took a separate run to see the Nortons at Innsbruck; where I also had the pleasure of meeting the Burdon Sandersons in their holiday; and in 1873 we stayed at Frankfurt, that I might meet valued German friends who were taking part there in a Medical Congress. But with those exceptions, we visited Germany only as in our way to the mountains: for which purpose, we sometimes took the Rhine-route by Cologne, or passed from Belgium by Treves to Heidelberg: thus either at once proceeding to Basel, or else making more leisurely way by Baden-Baden, Freiburg and the Black Forest, to Schaffhausen or the

neighbourhood of Constance. From one of these points of entry, or from Neuchatel or Geneva, most parts of Switzerland were visited by us, and the best of them again and again : Appenzell, Zurich, Chur and the Grisons and Upper Engadine, Glarus and the Linththal, Zug, Schwytz, Luzern and its lake, Altdorf and Amsteg, Interlaken, Thun, Bern, Freiburg, Lausanne and the many points of interest about them : but, whether we loitered or not by the way, generally we found ourselves drawn on to Chamonix, and two or three weeks there, when I could get them, were happiness and healing to me beyond compare. In our earliest years, I would sometimes leave my wife stationary for a while that I might explore for our future separate or joint movements ; thus, in 1856, in four days from Chamonix, I walked round the back of Mont Blanc by Cormayeur and the Great St. Bernard ; in 1857, in eight days, from Chamonix to Zermatt, and back by the Col de Théodule, Cormayeur and the Col du Géant ; in 1858, in six days from Interlaken, by the Grimsel and Gries, and the falls of the Tosa, to Formazza, Ponte Grande, Macugnaga, Saas and the Gemmi ; and later, in four days, from St. Gervais to the Valley of Sixt and back ; in 1859, only two or three days at the Glacier du Bois ; and in 1860 (when our child was with my wife at Montreux) a round of twenty days by Chamonix, Sion, Evolena, Zinal, St. Luc, Stalden, Mattmark, Ponte Grande, Orta, Varallo, Alagna, Gressonay, Aosta and, by Calvin's Pass and Chables, back to Montreux ; but otherwise we, of course, kept together. My wife in those days was an excellent carriage-traveller ; under Joseph Marie Couttet's auspices, she passed in 1859 with a girl-friend in a carriage (by the side of which I walked) over the *old route* of the Little St. Bernard from Cormayeur to Bourg St. Maurice, which, in those days, was of the roughest of tracks, and had been so passed only once before by the personage for whom the carriage had been built ; and she also could do a moderate amount of walking,—she, for instance, in 1858 walked up from Interlaken to Mürren without particular fatigue ; but mule-riding proved very distasteful to her. After the trials of 1858 and 1859, when—though carried over the Gemmi, and up the Aeggischhorn, and to and from Zermatt, she rode from Martigny to Chamonix, and from Chamonix over the Col de Balme and to the Great St. Bernard, we agreed that she should ride no more ; so that, after my walk of 1860,

we travelled exclusively by carriage-roads, and I myself ceased to frequent the passes she could not thus visit. In 1860, after my walk, we drove along the Simmenthal from Vevey to Interlaken; and from that date our goings to and from Chamonix, and as far as practicable elsewhere in the Alps, were managed as driving excursions. In 1861, entering more fully on the new system, I had the happiness of taking her in a carriage over the Gothard, and spending a few days with her on its southern side, so that she saw Airolo, Bellinzona, Baveno and Ponte Grande, before returning by the Bernardino to Chur; and in 1874, with her sister, after spending a week at Dissentis, we passed by the Gothard to visit Milan and the three lakes, and returned by Ponte Grande and the Simplon to Switzerland. In 1876, when my wife could not accompany me, I went by the Cenis to part of the same scenery. In 1878, when we were for the last time on the south side of the Alps, we drove from Chamonix by Bonneville, Annecy and Albertville, to Bourg St. Maurice; whence over the Little St. Bernard to Cormayeur, and subsequently down the Val d'Aoste to Ivrea; from which place, we proceeded by train to Milan; and thence, after a hasty visit to Venice, Padua, Verona, Trent and Botzen, returned over the Brenner to Innsbruck; and in 1879, I took her and her sister in carriage from Chur to Pontresina and back. In the years which next followed my retirement from official life we were able to add to our foreign travel somewhat more travel at home, and generally did this as early as the season would allow. Thus, in 1877, after my retirement, we had a run to Marlborough and Devizes, ~~and~~ similarly in 1877 we excursed to Penzance and to Bournemouth. Early in 1878 the illness of a friend took me for visits of nearly a month to the Lake-Country; and later in the year we were ~~at~~ at Pembury. In 1879 we had a week at Littlehampton, and later some stay at Brighton. In 1880 (not going abroad) we excursed early to Malvern, Sweeney-Cliff, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Hereford and Tintern; and later, before a long stay at Folkestone, had a short one at Cambridge and Ely. In 1881 I had a few spring days at Cuckfield; and afterwards we had an excursion to Oxford, Stratford and Wycombe. In the spring of 1882, having to visit Edinburgh, we went by Belvoir and Durham, and returned by Carlisle and Wakefield; everywhere meeting kind friends; and later in the year

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(before starting for what proved to be our last visit to Chamonix) we went for a few days by Lincoln to Harrogate and its neighbourhood. In this November, a few days' illness ended my <sup>dearest</sup> mother's life. In 1883, after a hasty excursion to Geneva, Lyon and Royat, and which proved to be our last on the Continent, my wife and I were spending the rest of our holiday-time at Folkestone, when we received the sad intelligence that my sister, Ellen de Zoete, was seriously ill at Eastbourne; and till her death, late in December, I made repeated visits to her there. Also we were staying at Folkestone in the September of 1884, when shocked by the news that her widowed husband (who within three weeks had spent with us there a day of his usual activity) had suddenly, amid his occupations, also died.

These deaths in 1883 and 1884, following on that of my mother in 1882, and that of my father only three years previously, left me with but little heart for new affections; and the friendships of which I have yet to write are therefore chiefly our ties of far earlier years.

High among them we count our intimacy, which began in 1868, with the Nortons, Sedgwicks and Ashburners, of Massachusetts and of this country; some of whom (including those settled in England) have been among our most valued friends. Incidentally to that intimacy I had, at the close of 1877, the extreme pleasure of developing by personal intercourse the slight indirect acquaintance I had previously had with Mr. Charles Darwin; for his eldest son, William, a son well worthy of such a father, had just become the husband of Sara Sedgwick; and since the father's death in 1882 we have also had as neighbours and very kind friends his married daughter, Mrs. Litchfield, and her husband. Far back in the fifties, I used to chat with Thackeray when we met, and I remember an evening in 1860 when he brought his daughters to a party at our house; but it has been chiefly since his death and his younger daughter's, that our intimacy with his elder daughter has developed; and from 1877, when she became Mrs. Richmond Ritchie, she and her husband and children (of whom the son is my god-child) have come to be among our dearest friends. Likewise, from 1870, we have had close and valued friendship with the William Jeaffresons, and I may even say with

two generations of them; referring not only to their daughter, Freda, but because their younger boy, my godson, now fourteen years old, has been transcriber for me of these pages.

From the spring of 1864, when the honored life of John Ruskin's father had come to its end, and the widow had drawn to her side for the remainder of her old age their at first almost child-relative, Joan Ruskin Agnew, there had been added as it were a grand-daughter to the family; and when Joan had thus lived for seven years as Ruskin's loved and loving daughter, she became the wife of Arthur Severn, the artist-son of Mr. Joseph Severn who in those days was still British Consul in Rome. Fitter or happier marriage could not have been; and, especially now in the progress of time, one result of it has become almost ideal; for Ruskin, nearly 76 years old, and no longer trusting himself to stray far from his fireside, has Arthur and Joan Severn and their children dwelling with him in his Coniston home; and there, amid the hills, as in happy sunlight, the evening of his genius is brightened and cheered by their well-deserved faithful love.

en / 87 In years which are now long past, our house used to be fairly familiar to strangers who visited London for scientific ~~objects~~ <sup>aim</sup> connected with surgery or physiology or sanitary medicine; and many recollections occur to me ~~very~~ pleasantly as I write. Thus, for instance, in or before 1852, M. Magendie (who had been born in 1783) came to chat with me at my then home in Lancaster Place on some public matter which was of joint interest to us; and I remember how comically on that occasion, dining with us on perhaps the hottest day of the year, he remonstrated with my wife on her not having included "ox" in her menu. But some of our later memories are very heavily charged with pain. We think of Middeldorpf of Breslau, now a quarter of a century dead, but dead while life should have been at its best for him, equally dear as he was to his friends and to science. Or we think of Johann Czermak of Prague, full of genius and geniality, who, to our grief, died in 1873. Or we think of Georg Varrentrapp of Frankfurt, the father of popular health-work in Germany, who left us all sorrowing for him in 1886. And, while I write, surely my mind cannot but turn to my still living dear old friend, Max von Pettenkofer, with whom I have enjoyed some of my happiest hours of life, but who three years ago lost the

wife of his youth, and who, though more than two years my junior in age, and still the leader of German sanitary science, perhaps thinks with me of the nearing end.

In the glances which I have thrown back on the friendships of our life, I have hitherto scarcely referred to the latest of them; and also I have made almost no mention of those which have chiefly regarded my ordinary professional aims. The latter deficiency I can with comparatively clear conscience leave as it stands; because elsewhere (in technical writings) I have endeavoured to express not only the scientific obligations under which my task has been done, but also the close ties of friendship which in many cases have made the obligation a delight; and on the other point I may truly say, that of late years our new friendships have ranged but little beyond the Square in which we dwell. Here, however, in this small Square, and among the other friends who still remain to us, we see in constant exercise, at all ages, samples of the human qualities which mankind has to respect and love, and we rejoice that we are still able to behold, even on this scale, the continuing life and promise of the world.

The members of my family for whom chiefly I have put together the above notes will not, I think, expect from me much more than I have written. They need not be told of occurrences which have been equally within their own knowledge, nor will they need me to set forth here my love for those whom we have lost. Domestic recollections which age has made distinctively my wife's and mine, and our personal contact with life so far as it has been special to ourselves, are matters which we have thought might interest our kin, and beyond such I have hoped not to wander. Little therefore remains for me to add; and, especially from the years which have passed since 1884, my wife and I have but scanty happiness to tell. We have done what we could of duty; but the shades of old age have been gathering round us; and grief on grief has weighed us down. In October 1885, I had to undergo an operation (which unfortunately had been too long deferred) for glaucoma of the right eye; and though I have hitherto escaped the like trouble on the left side, yet, from other causes, I am becoming anxious as to its sight. In the summer of 1887, we went to Dublin on occasion of my being honored by the



doctorate of the University ; and later I went to the Isle of Wight that Her Majesty might confer on me the honour of the Knighthood of the Bath ; after which we spent the winter in Torquay ; but on our return in the spring of 1888, we had to face the death of my niece, Mrs. Carter Blake ; and on Christmas Day, 1888, just when we had ended a visit to my dear elder brother, George, at Widmore, we received at Bournemouth the entirely unexpected news of his death. After spending at work the summer of 1889, partly near Ashford (at the country cottage of our friend Dr. Bowles) and partly at Brighton, I succeeded in publishing early in 1890 my *English Sanitary Institutions* ; and afterwards I began exertions (which happily proved successful in 1891) for reform in the law relating to *Bequests for Charity* ; but meanwhile, in May, 1891, the death of my wife's much-loved sister, at the age of  $83\frac{1}{2}$ , left us the oldest living members of our two stocks ; and we soon, in our turn, were to feel that our own ending-time had begun. Other sorrows, too, which had been gathering, fell on us very heavily in 1891 and 1892. In the summer of the latter year, at Folkestone, I had a long illness (perhaps influenza) with little power of work ; towards the end of the year I was barely able to do what I had to do at the Medical Council, and to put together my *In Memoriam* notes on Lord Sherbrooke ; and in the summer of 1893, with its extremely hot weather, I was again very failing. Though I am said to have mended during the past winter, and have since then published a paper in the April number of the *Nineteenth Century* for 1894, besides attending the May meeting of the Medical Council, I feel that I have little to boast of in strength. My truest substitute for it is to observe the wife at my side. With much bodily suffering of her own, she has kept a heart always reverently trusting in God, and always full of generous thought for our fellow-creatures ; and, in watching the movements of her mind, I get the best example which can be given me.

J. S.

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17<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER, 1894.



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